



UNDP

CHOICES

THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT MAGAZINE



Cambodia on Edge

APRIL 1992

Dear Readers,

The launching of the first *Human Development Report* in 1990 rekindled areas of development debate that needed re-examining. Economic growth, the report stated, must not be a sole measure of progress. Rather, a more meaningful development goal is using this wealth to enlarge the range of people's *choices* – in education, health, opportunities for work and leisure, income, human rights and political and economic freedom.

The human development concept has since become a key principle in shaping UNDP's policies and programmes. Perhaps more importantly, it has taken on a life of its own, influencing world opinion, other groups and institutions and, ultimately, development action.

Building on this momentum, UNDP is pleased to introduce *CHOICES*, which replaces *World Development* magazine. Our intention is to move beyond orthodoxy, presenting a diversity of voices, opinions and facts. The ultimate goal is to offer a wide range of material to choose from, and to fuel the very dialogue and debate that is the essence of human development.

This first edition looks at a spectrum of issues and events that affect the lives of millions of people: the massive efforts in the works to reconstruct Cambodia, the survival of the independent press in Africa, the war against cholera in Peru and HIV/AIDS worldwide. This issue also includes a report on the ozone problem, which grows more serious by the day.

The magazine you're reading is but a first stage in a process we hope will evolve and change. Forging a dialogue means hearing from you, the reader, to keep us interesting.



Søren Dyssegaard

Director

Division of Public Affairs

CHOICES

THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT MAGAZINE

Vol.1, No. 1

COVER STORY

- Cambodia's Long Road Home** Flemming Ytzen 4

ISSUES

- Saving the Ozone Layer: A Test of Global Will** Siddharth Dube 9
Waging Peace: The Role of Women in Conflict Resolution Victoria Irwin 14
The Rising Cost of AIDS Siddharth Dube 18

VIEWPOINTS

- Africa: What Price, Freedom of the Press?** Gwen Lister 22
Old Myths, New Actions: Human Development Reconsidered Mahbub ul Haq 26

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT NEWS

- From Worldwide Sources** 28

FEATURES

- Peru's Cholera Conquistadors** Denise Barricklow 30
Mongolia: Braving a Winter of Discontent Hugué O'Haire 34



Page 4



Page 9

Director: Søren Dyssegaard *Editors:* Lois Jensen, Sid Kane *Contributing Editors:* Paul Boyd, Mary Lynn Hanley
Editorial Assistant: Françoise Gerber *Art Director:* Esther Kurti *Design:* Maureen Lynch,
Kristin Mooney, Mary Vengrofski *Production:* Mila Feliciano, Jennifer Prince, Annie Straw
Translations Manager: Elizabeth Scott Andrews *Administration:* Linda Inocencio-Groux, Melinda Limjap,
Danielle Strahl *Circulation:* Alison Walton, Dorothy Toy *Distribution:* Welde Hailemelekot
Printed by: Phoenix-Trykkeriet AS, Denmark *Published by:* Division of Public Affairs, United Nations
Development Programme, One UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, Tel: (212) 906-5315, Fax: (212) 906-5364

The articles in this magazine do not necessarily reflect the official views or policies of the United Nations Development Programme, nor do the boundaries and names shown on maps imply official endorsement by the United Nations. Articles and photos may be freely reproduced so long as credit is given and tear sheets are provided to the editors. CHOICES is available in Arabic, English, French, Italian, Japanese and Spanish.

Cover photo of Phnom Penh by R. Vogel/Gamma-Liaison.

Printed on recycled paper.



The return of Prince Sihanouk marks a new era for Cambodia.



CAMBODIA'S LONG ROAD HOME

BY FLEMMING YTZEN

The following report reflects the situation and prospects of Cambodia as of February 1992 — **The Editors**

Phnom Penh, Cambodia — The tragic realities of 13 years of civil war are evident at the Wat Than Temple just one mile south of Phnom Penh's city centre. The temple houses a national rehabilitation clinic for the disabled. On this uncomfortably hot day, many mine victims — including young soldiers and civilians alike — are practising walking a hundred yards with an artificial leg and a single crutch. The road to recovery for these unfortunate men and women, like for the country itself, promises to be long and difficult.

Those recovering at the Wat Than Temple had expected to receive free treatment and artificial limbs. But reality has not been so kind. None of the technicians working here are able to support their families on their meagre salaries — between US\$6 and \$12 a month, depending on family size. To improve their livelihoods, staff have begun asking patients for money, forcing some to beg on nearby streets to pay for the care they need.

The situation is not surprising for Cambodia, which is grappling with a critical budget deficit. Short on money, the government stopped paying many civil servants for several months last year. As a result, a number of ministries are operating with skeletal staffs, due to an exodus of professionals from the public to the private sector. On the streets of Phnom Penh, it is not uncommon to see brand new Toyotas carrying former government officials to their newly opened shops and private businesses.

Addressing the country's public sector woes is only one of many challenges that Cambodia must overcome. "The economic and political situation in Cambodia is sensitive and fragile," says Edouard Wattez, resident representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Phnom Penh. "The most urgent need for UN agencies and other donors is to rebuild the country's infrastructure, and to reintegrate its people."

Doing so promises to be an expensive undertaking: according to data from UNDP, it will cost at least \$230 million over the next two years to reconstruct Cambodia's beleaguered infrastructure.

The country's badly damaged roads and rail systems, along with the absence of telephones and electric power, have slowed and at times derailed development efforts. "Everybody recognizes the need for a huge effort to rehabilitate the infra-

structure, but security reasons and poor communications have hampered it," says Robert Piper, a UNDP programme officer in Phnom Penh.

Cambodia's recent history includes some dark and terrifying turns. From 1975 until 1991, the country was one of the most isolated in the world, inaccessible to most development partners and suffering from an economic embargo by the West. The Khmer Rouge's totalitarian rule here, beginning in 1975, reportedly resulted in more than one million deaths. Many educated Cambodians either fled or were killed during



Phnom Penh at dusk.

READEX
FICHE

CHOICES 5



Phnom Penh marketplace.



Many returning Cambodians hope to earn a living by farming.

that period and the country still suffers from their absence. Once that regime was ousted with backing from Viet Nam in early 1979, a new government was installed that gradually gave way to reformists, who broke the country's isolation.

As a result of the civil war, 65 per cent of the adult population in Cambodia is female, and many face enormous difficulties managing households single-handedly. The country's per capita GNP, at \$130, is among the lowest in the world. It also lacks adequate medical personnel. Last year, an estimated 500 doctors were practising in all of Cambodia, and in some regions there was only one physician for every 30,000 people.

Today, Phnom Penh is a bustling Southeast Asian city. The Royal Palace has been rehabilitated and is well main-

tained, but many of the nearby buildings are in ruin. Elements of a modern society clash with the old: hundreds of small Honda motorbikes fight with traditional rickshaws for space along the capital's narrow streets.

Following the recent peace plan that brought Cambodia's four factions together, thousands of UN administrators, civilian experts, election observers and peacekeeping soldiers are being posted throughout the country in what is likely to become the largest UN operation of its kind. As part of the undertaking, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia will oversee the government's five key ministries pending the elections in 1993. These are the ministries of foreign affairs, finance, defense, security and information. The UN will also help monitor the return of refugees from Thailand, which is perhaps the most complicated part of the plan. The 350,000 Cambodians who have spent years in camps along the Thai-Cambodian border are waiting to be repatriated.

"We are ready to return home," says Van Sak, a 26-year-old Cambodian who has lived with his family in such a camp for five years. "We know that we face a totally different country with hard conditions, but we are optimistic."

Also far from home are an estimated 190,000 Cambodians who are internally displaced. Most of these people lack adequate food, medicine and services, despite efforts to reach them with aid. UNDP, and a host of other UN agencies — including UNICEF, the World Food Programme and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees — are working side-by-side with various non-governmental organizations to improve conditions in rural areas in preparation for returnees.

Agriculture, vital to the country's resurgence, has declined precipitously during the past decade. A 1991 drought resulted in a 100,000-tonne rice shortage, and torrential rains and floods made the food shortages even worse.

But some say that this vital sector ought to rebound in the



CAMBODIA REPATRIATION

- UNHCR Office
- Reception centres
- ▲ Khmer camps in Thailand

- Railways
- Main roads

future. "Cambodia has promising agricultural potential and should not have to be dependent on foreign aid for decades to come," says Mr. Wattez. "A large, coordinated development effort could make the country self-sufficient in food in less than 10 years."

For the estimated 8.5 million people now living in Cambodia, the arrival of the UN peacekeepers signals a new era of reconciliation, reconstruction and political pluralism. Recent political reform and the return of the country's former monarch, Norodom Sihanouk, who heads the Supreme National

Council, a coalition of the four political factions, offers some hope. Post-communist Cambodia is following the same path as the countries of Eastern Europe: one-party rule has been abolished, and free enterprise and the private sector are gaining momentum.

Under Prime Minister Hun Sen, the Cambodian government has embarked upon a large-scale privatization programme to raise badly needed capital for the country's reconstruction. But the consequences for public sector services, including health and education, have been mixed. Many

LIFE ON THE EDGE

Site 2, on the Thai-Cambodian border — Van Sak, 26, is ready to return to his native country. For years, he has practised his craft in his tiny "workshop," which is little more than a worn-down desk with a few boxes. His dream, when he returns to Cambodia, is to become a goldsmith in Battambang.

Mr. Sak's workplace is next to the street shop of his mother-in-law, Toun Hong, who became a widow two years ago when her husband died of tuberculosis. She now makes a living selling electrical appliances, including radio cassette players and car batteries. This migrant city of 190,000 does not have a single private automobile, but car batteries are found in every household. They are used for electricity, as they are in the Saks' crowded three-room bamboo house, which measures a total of 40 square metres.

This family of five earns \$80 a month at best, which places them in the upper middle-income class of this society. A few miles away, on the other side of the border in Cambodia, peasant families earn \$10 a month or less. Mr. Sak knows that he and his family will face difficult conditions when they move across the border and head for Battambang. Still, they are somewhat optimistic.

"We believe we can prosper in Cambodia," says Mr. Sak. "When peace and freedom are established, there will be many business opportunities. We will know how to make a good living."

Mr. Sak's wife, Vanmana, 20, gave birth to their son 10 months ago. They are pleased with the level of health care and the maternity services offered in Site 2, which, accord-

ing to relief officials has one of the highest birth rates — and one of the lowest infant mortality rates — in Asia.

The camp has services and standards that will take years to build up in many parts of Cambodia. Four kilograms of rice per person every week is far more than most of their countrymen on the other side of the border can get. In this refugee camp that has come to resemble a city, one finds schools, shops, discotheques and meeting halls. Private trade and commerce are abundant, and visitors are hard pressed to find a beggar or an undernourished child even though 2,500 newcomers have been arriving each month.

Health care and sanitation services are provided through NGOs, while the UN Border Relief Operation (UNBRO), with logistical support from UNDP, has set up a central border pharmacy to meet the needs of the civilian population. Malaria control is carried out by UNBRO, which has also been providing training on how to prevent the disease. And, in cooperation with the Thai authorities, UNBRO has launched a programme of primary education and is supporting curriculum development, the printing of educational materials, teacher training and construction of schools.

Still, life leaves much to be desired in this refugee city. Horrendous crimes plague some of its quarters, and robbery, murder and rape are not uncommon. With the proliferation of thousands of handguns and hand grenades, which sell for US40 cents, some areas have come to resemble large, crime-ridden ghettos of urban societies around the world. This darker side of life here has given many Cambodians added impetus to make the long and uncertain journey home. — F.Y.



H. Vogel / Gamma-Liaison

A land-mine victim in Battambang City.

civil servants have lost their jobs in cutbacks, and have taken to the streets to protest this and other reforms. The repercussions are not only being felt in the capital, but in Cambodia's rural provinces as well.

Many here share the concern that before full development and reconstruction can get under way, the country's public sector needs to be strengthened. "This could be done through education and by civil service reform," Mr. Piper says. "We are taking a critical view of how the public sector is working and are suggesting alternatives."

Still, the most daunting — and immediate — concern of aid workers and Cambodians alike is the widespread presence of land-mines, which continue to traumatize the country. According to a report published jointly by Asia Watch and Physicians for Human Rights, land-mines have injured and possibly killed more people than any other weapon in Cambodia's 13-year civil war.

Aid workers also fear that, without mine-clearing, the UN operation in Cambodia will not get far. The UN Advance Mission in Cambodia is conducting an awareness programme to educate peasant families on avoiding the mines, and is also training Cambodian personnel in mine-clearing techniques. To assist the process, the four Cambodian factions are providing detailed maps pinpointing the location of known mine-fields, especially along the Thai-Cambodian border.

For the thousands of refugees who are preparing to journey home, traversing a terrain laden with mines is but one of the difficulties they will encounter. Many are hoping to travel to Phnom Penh or to another city in search of work; some expect a cool welcome from those who stayed on and endured years of isolation and hardship.

Conditions permitting, the majority of the border refugees have expressed interest in returning to the northwestern provinces of Siem Riep, Bantaey Meanchey, Battambang and Pursat, according to a Ford Foundation study. And while many would like to work as farmers, their return to areas with poor infrastructure and security problems because of land-mines is expected to fuel additional migration to the cities.

On the positive side, a critical factor that some aid experts think will work to Cambodia's advantage is timing. As one Western diplomat recently put it, "in the new world order, Cambodia is in the right place for the international community to show that it can share responsibility for a people that suffered because of conflicting geopolitical interests." But with other dramatic changes on the international scene — especially the breakup of the former Soviet Union — Cambodia is by no means alone in vying for donor help.

One who remains confident about the country's future, in spite of the difficulties ahead, is Prince Norodom Sihanouk. "We will open our doors to the outside world and use Thailand as a model," he said, adding that people can one day expect five-star hotels in Phnom Penh.

But that hopeful vision is a long way off. There is only one luxury hotel in Phnom Penh today, located on the banks of the Mekong River. Across from it, Cambodia's truer reality hits home: beggars and the disabled stand out as human legacies of a turbulent past, many of whom seek shelter under fragile bamboo roofs and in temple ruins. ■

Flemming Ytzen is a Danish journalist based in Bangkok who has covered Cambodia for a decade.

SAVING THE OZONE LAYER: A TEST OF GLOBAL WILL

A global agreement
has been reached
to phase out the use of
ozone-depleting chemicals.
It may be a model for
other international accords
on the environment.

By Siddharth Dube

New York — In February 1992, startling findings by NASA revealed record-high concentrations of chlorine monoxide in the stratosphere over Europe¹. Russia and the northeastern United States. It is now even more conclusive that the earth's ozone layer, which provides a natural shield against ultraviolet radiation, is rapidly being depleted.

But while a recent agreement to phase out ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and halons marks an extraordinary display of international cooperation, it is already being sorely tested. Industries are increasingly concerned about the high cost of replacing CFCs. As of early 1992, several large developing countries had yet to ratify the agreement. Most worrisome, scientists are concerned that even the ambitious deadlines set for banning CFCs and halons will be too late to

CFCs AND HALONS: HARD TO REPLACE

Chlorofluorocarbons and halons are complex synthetic compounds that contain carbon and one or more of the halogen elements — fluorine, chlorine, bromine or iodine. For decades after their development by large US chemical companies, they were considered the perfect chemicals.

Nontoxic, nonflammable and hence extraordinarily safe for human use, CFCs first became popular as replacements for highly toxic refrigerants used in the 1930s. Since then, a multi-billion dollar industry has grown up around them. CFCs are used in a multitude of products and processes that make human life more comfortable. For example, they serve as propellants in aerosols and inhalant medications and as coolants in refrigerators and air-conditioners. They are used in the manufacture of plastic foam and insulation and to remove grease from intricate electronic and engineering components during their manufacture.

This versatility has made CFCs difficult to replace. Experts say that a comparable class of chemicals is unlikely to be developed, despite a huge market. "Industries that buy cleaning solvents from us expect that we will find another product that will be as broadly useful," says Michael Murphy, a development manager at Dow Chemical Company in the US. "Unfortunately, you can put molecules together in just so many ways."

Industry is adapting to the phase-out of CFCs by modifying processes and by using HCFCs, chemicals that are related to chlorofluorocarbons but are less damaging to the ozone layer. The international protocol allows their use for a transitional period.

Halons, used in fire extinguishers and in military applications, have proven more difficult to replace. Alternatives so far are more flammable and less stable. Researchers are currently developing technologies to limit emissions of these "perfect," but ultimately destructive, chemicals. — **S.D.**

ESTIMATED USE OF
OZONE-DEPLETING
SUBSTANCES,
1990

North America - 36%

Western Europe - 25%

Japan, Australia
and New Zealand - 15%

CIS, Eastern Europe and
Developing Countries - 24%

Refrigeration and
air-conditioning - 32%

Fire extinguishing
and other uses - 4%

Polymers - 9%

Solvents - 16%

Aerosols - 17%

Foams - 22%

Source: Compiled by UNDP and subject to revision

avert a 26 per cent increase in the incidence of skin cancer, 100,000 new cases of cataracts and major disruptions in the oceanic food chain.

Debate over the ozone layer began in 1976, when researchers at the University of California pointed to CFC emissions as the key reason for the thinning of the earth's protective shield. Unleashed was a fierce lobby by environmental groups in Europe and the US to reduce use of the suspect chemicals. In 1985, when a "hole" in the ozone layer was discovered above Antarctica, the reality of the problem finally hit home. Data showed conclusively that ozone levels had fallen by 60 per cent in the stratosphere over the South Pole during the spring months.

In less than two years, more than 20 nations agreed to freeze the use of CFCs and, by the year 2000, to halve CFC and halon consumption. By 1990, the international accord, named the "Montreal Protocol," was broadened to ban the use of these substances altogether by the same deadline. The protocol was ratified by 93 nations. Developing countries, responsible for a smaller share of CFC and halon consumption, were given an additional 10 years to phase out CFCs and halons domestically.

The financial implications of replacing CFCs and halons in businesses and industries around the world are substantial. But they are far less costly than the probable consequences of no action at all. The link between ultraviolet radiation and skin cancer and cataracts is well known. And some predict that continued exposure at higher levels could weaken human immune systems, diminish crop yields and wreak havoc on marine ecosystems.

According to 1991 data from the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), ozone levels have also diminished, by five per cent, over the middle latitudes, where New York and Madrid are situated, and



DALCERRO

Illustration by Michael Dalcerro

may eventually show the greatest degree of disintegration over the equator. And even with a rapid phase-out of the chemicals, ozone levels are likely to fall a further five per cent before stabilizing.

Extensive negotiations over the last few years have helped countries begin the process of phasing out CFCs and halons. But the task remains daunting. For Canadian businessman David Lott, who services industrial air-conditioners, the shift away from CFCs means an entirely new

way of doing business. Mr. Lott is seeking an alternative coolant to replace CFCs. But despite the significant sums of money being spent on this, CFCs remain by far the easiest to use. Modifying air-conditioners to use recycled CFCs also means huge extra costs for owners — as much as US\$90,000 for a unit that sells for between \$225,000 and \$900,000. And these modifications are also time-consuming. Often housed on the roof or in the basement of businesses or apartment blocks, the air-conditioners must be worked on for three



to four weeks, during which time they cannot be used.

"It's going to be difficult enough in a cold country like Canada," says Mr. Lott. "But in the southern US, it will be an incredible headache to stop air-conditioners and refrigerators for so long. Can you imagine what will happen to food in supermarkets?"

While over 75 per cent of CFC and halon use is in the industrialized countries, phasing out these chemicals in the developing

world is likely to prove far more difficult. Like their northern neighbours, developing countries have millions of refrigerators and air-conditioning units that will have to be adapted for use with other chemicals or recycled CFCs. Moreover, several developing countries have made large investments in manufacturing processes using CFC and halon technologies, which will have to be scrapped.

This burden will be eased somewhat by a \$200 million Interim Multilateral Fund, created as part of the global accord to

assist poorer countries in making the transition. The fund is being managed by an executive committee and a secretariat in Montreal, with programme support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UNEP and the World Bank. UNDP, specifically, is providing experts and on-site programmes to train developing country technicians in adapting the new technologies. And, though there is no legal obligation to do so, member governments are being encouraged by the Montreal Protocol to transfer alternative technologies at the lowest possible cost.

"Such cooperation between developing and developed countries on a global environmental concern is unprecedented," says Frank Pinto, principal technical adviser on environment and natural resources at UNDP. But he and other experts caution that the process of phasing out CFCs and halons is just beginning. A major complication, Mr. Pinto adds, is that the cost of switching or idling plants in the developing countries will be at least 10 times the amount of money available in the multilateral fund.

Troubled by a shortage of cash — and concerned that they are being asked to suffer disproportionately for a problem created largely by industrialized nations — India, Indonesia and Pakistan, among others, have been unwilling to ratify the protocol until their concerns about technology transfer and funding are met. A specific concern is that the multilateral fund, as it stands now, can only cover a fraction of the cost. Adding fuel to the fire is the fact that while some CFCs are used in luxury items in rich countries — such as car air-conditioners, aerosols and disposable packing materials — the small amounts used in poorer countries are generally used to support sorely-needed industrial development.

But even developing countries that are committed to the accord are encountering severe problems. Mexico has embarked

on an ambitious programme to meet the same deadline as industrialized countries, despite the 10-year grace period it is allowed. The decision was made on the grounds that it would be easier and less costly to switch to alternatives sooner rather than later, before domestic CFC use increases. But Jorge Corona, who heads Mexico's National Chamber of Industries, says that the task is complicated by the unwillingness of companies from industrialized nations to sell alternative chemicals and technologies at low cost, despite governments' commitments to do so.

"There is a contradiction and conflict here, and a solution has yet to be found," says Mr. Corona. He adds that developing countries involved in CFC manufacture risk increasing their dependence on foreign firms when they phase out domestic plants and begin importing chemical substitutes from richer countries.

In fact, the search for new processes and CFC substitutes, primarily in the industrialized world, could lead to windfall profits for companies getting into the business of servicing industries seeking to comply with the new regulations.

But the ban is also exacting a cost from industrialized nations, says Kevin Fay, executive director of the Alliance for Responsible CFC Policy, a US industry and trade association. In the US alone, he says, some \$135 billion worth of equipment already installed will have to be retrofitted to run on different chemicals or recycled CFCs. "US industry has already spent billions of dollars to make the necessary changes, and will spend several billion more," says Mr. Fay. "The changes have been relatively smooth so far, but painless, no."

Stephen Andersen, who directs technology transfer at the Environmental Protection Agency in the US, disagrees. "There are a great many myths about high costs," says Mr. Andersen. "But so far we have realized some huge cuts in CFC use at very little cost." He points out that aerosol technology, for example, adapted

easily to new regulations when non-essential use of CFCs was banned in the US in 1977. Mr. Andersen also says that some US industries and businesses have successfully reduced CFC consumption by simply recycling the chemicals. Twenty per cent of global CFC emissions come from automobile air-conditioners, and these emissions could be greatly reduced by reusing the coolant instead of throwing it away, which results in its quick release into the atmosphere.

The demands of the phase-out have also prompted some industries to review

and simplify processes that use too many chemicals. Many electronics firms, for example, are now using water-based cleaning solvents instead of CFCs.

The next few years will tell whether prohibitive costs, technology constraints and divergent national interests can be reconciled to the mutual benefit of all. Many remain encouraged in spite of the enormous challenges that lie ahead. Negotiations are on to increase the size of the multilateral fund, and to press for an even more rapid phase-out of CFCs. And countries that so far have resisted the

GLOBAL WARMING: THE BATTLE HEATS UP

The international accord on ozone depletion, or the "Montreal Protocol," marks the first time that countries from all parts of the world have responded so quickly and effectively to a worldwide environmental threat. It sets a hopeful precedent for those concerned about global warming, another environmental risk that, while not directly related to ozone depletion, does portend enormous changes.

But a battle over how to respond to global warming is already heating up, and is set to take place in June at the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro. High on UNCED's agenda is the sealing of an agreement on global warming similar to the Montreal Protocol. Recent months have already seen industry, environmental groups and governments pitted against each other in an acrimonious free-for-all, which may very well escalate at UNCED.

A major hurdle is reaching agreement on whether global warming is a threat at all. To date, there is no scientific consensus on the certainty of global warming or of the potential risks posed to humans.

The theory posed is that the earth's

temperature will increase because industrial activity, population pressures and the burning of tropical forests have caused a build-up of gases that trap sunlight. The primary gases that have been pinpointed are carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide and to a lesser extent the chlorofluorocarbons responsible for ozone depletion.

Already, the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased by 25 per cent in the last century, while that of methane has doubled. Average global temperatures have risen by 0.28 to 0.6 degrees Celsius (0.5 to 1.1 degrees Fahrenheit) over the same period. While this "greenhouse effect" has been generally beneficial, scientists fear that its intensification could increase average global temperatures by 1 to 5 degrees Celsius (1.8 to 9 degrees Fahrenheit) in the next 50 years. This rise could mean that the earth will be warmer than it has been for 120,000 years.

The increase in temperature could cause the oceans to rise two metres or more as polar ice melts and warmer water expands. Tropical diseases could spread into what are now temperate areas. Altered precipitation patterns, including an increase in the severity and frequency of storms, would have consequences for agriculture in many countries. Changes in natural ecosystems might also lead to the extinction of certain species of plants and animals.

protocol are expected to eventually join.

Dr. Omar El-Arini, chief officer of the fund secretariat in Montreal, offers a unique perspective on the painstaking process of negotiation and change. "Sitting where I'm sitting, it gets incredibly frustrating when things do not move as quickly as they should," he says. "But this is because of the complexity of the process itself, not for want of cooperation. I think the issue is putting the international community to a real good test." ■

Indian journalist Siddharth Dube writes on public health issues.

But climate change is a complex and poorly-understood phenomenon. "The scientific evidence is not as well-established for global warming as it is for ozone depletion," says UNDP's Frank Pinto. "For instance, some scientists feel that the process of warming could be partially offset by the beginning of a new glacial age, or the effects of volcanic emissions."

A comprehensive study recently undertaken by the Danish Meteorological Institute has also raised the possibility that climatic change is overwhelmingly determined by cyclical variations in the sun's brightness. A decrease in the sun's luminosity could counteract greenhouse warming.

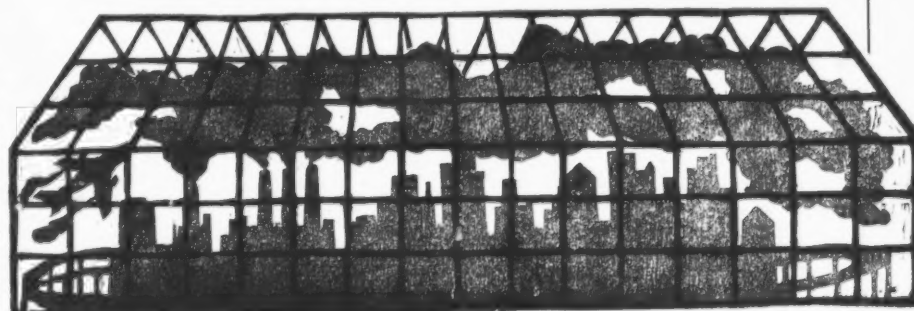
The global warming battle is complicated by the fact that billions of dollars of investments and resources are at stake. Carbon dioxide, the principal greenhouse gas, is emitted from fossil fuels such as petroleum, and from coal-burning power plants that have charged industrial development for the last century. Governments and industries fear that economic growth will be stunted by control measures that require costly environmental engineering or a ban on coal consumption.

An inter-agency study published by the US Department of Energy says that steps taken to reduce carbon dioxide emissions

would force the gross national product of the US down by one per cent, an effect comparable to the oil-price shock of the 1970s. And developing countries with large coal resources are concerned that the costs of reducing emissions from coal burning could have devastating effects on their industrialization process.

Environment Facility (GEF), a \$1 billion fund managed by the World Bank, UNDP and UNEP, is helping developing countries address the global consequences of national environmental problems in areas including climate change, biodiversity and international waters. The GEF is also financing development of environmentally

Illustration by Michael Dalcorno

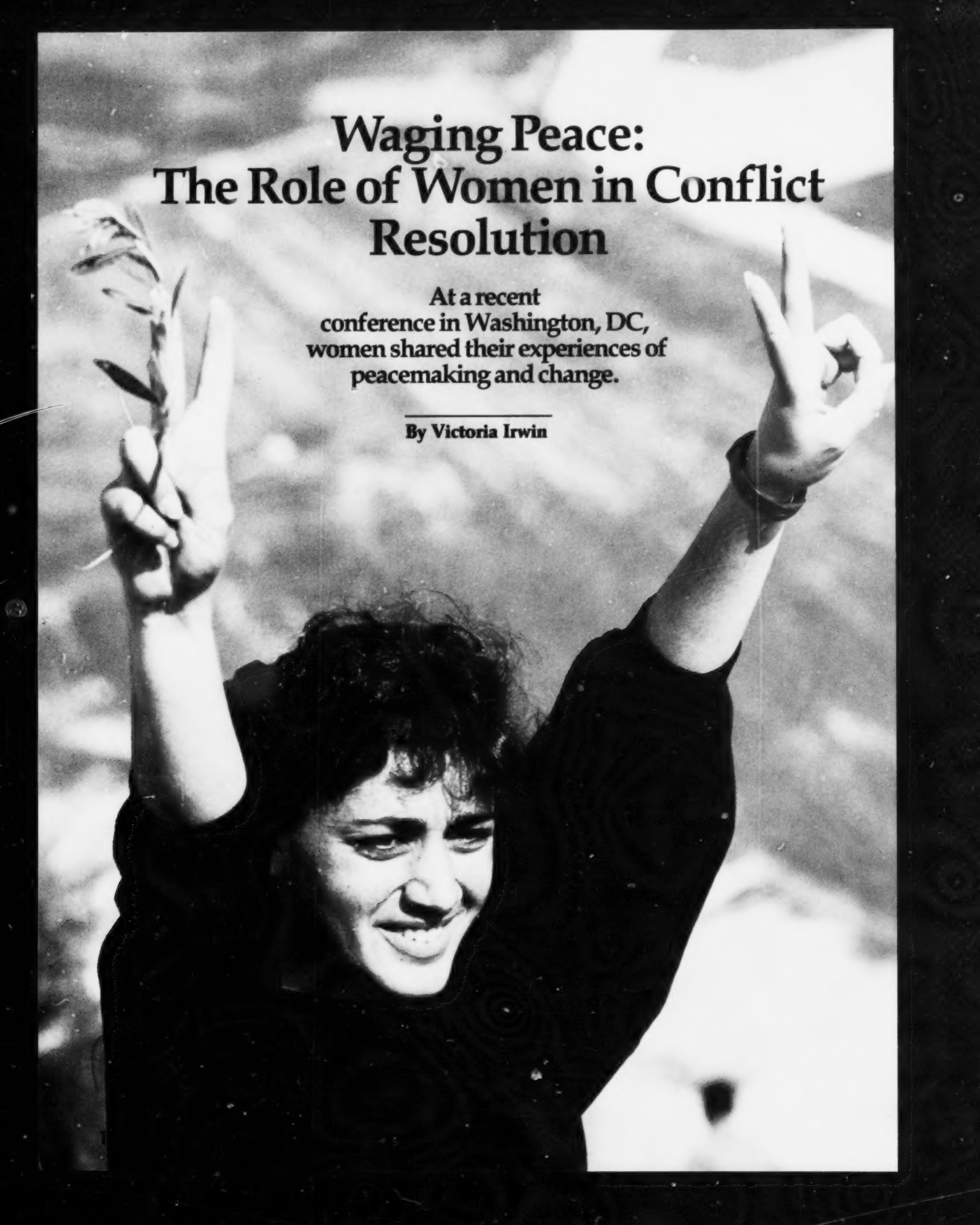


Issues of global equity have further confounded the debate. The rich industrialized nations have emitted the vast bulk of greenhouse gases over the last century, and some emissions, including carbon dioxide, will persist indefinitely in the atmosphere. Officials in developing countries say this important fact is frequently ignored by the industrialized countries.

While the debate over global warming inches forward, differences in scientific viewpoints are being clarified by further research. At the same time, the Global

benign energy technologies and interventions that promote fuel efficiency.

Equally important, crucial negotiations on global warming are continuing through the UN Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for a Framework Convention on Climate Change. Negotiators will have met five times in two years when they sit down together in Rio de Janeiro in June to hammer out an agreement. — S.D.



Waging Peace: The Role of Women in Conflict Resolution

At a recent
conference in Washington, DC,
women shared their experiences of
peacemaking and change.

By Victoria Irwin

W

ashington, DC — The role of women as peacemakers is ages old. The dramatist Aristophanes told the tale of Greek women who refused to sleep with their husbands as long as they were at war, eventually bringing an end to the conflict. In modern times, a well-known women's organization in Argentina, the *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo*, protested the disappearance of their sons and daughters at the height of the military dictatorship in the 1970s, mobilizing public opposition to the junta.

In 1976, Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams from Northern Ireland won the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to end violence between Protestants and Catholics. They began their peacemaking campaign after seeing three children die when hit by a car carrying members of the Irish Republican Army. Last year, Aung San Suu Kyi, an opposition leader in Myanmar, won the Nobel Peace Prize for promoting nonviolent resistance.

The question of how women can contribute to peacemaking was explored by a recent panel on "Women in International Conflict." Participants included women from Cyprus, Northern Ireland, South Africa, Sri Lanka and the city of Jerusalem. The meeting took place last November during the Fifth International Forum of the Association for Women in Development (AWID) in Washington, DC.

Two of the women panellists, Emily Markides, a Greek Cypriot, and Fatma Azgin, a Turkish Cypriot, have known each other for almost a decade. They first met through their husbands, who were part of a group of intellectuals trying to start a dialogue between the two ethnic groups in the early 1980s. Hostilities between the two communities resulted in the sending of UN

peacekeeping troops in 1963, which still remain in Cyprus. In 1974, the conflict escalated, and the island was divided in two, displacing more than 200,000 people from both communities from their homes.

A buffer zone called the Green Line still

"Women have special talents as negotiators. We need to take our destiny in our own hands, and not leave it solely in the hands of men."

separates the Greek Cypriot sector in the south — which is home to the internationally recognized government — and the Turkish Cypriot sector in the north. Despite repeated efforts, a political solution to the "Cyprus problem" has not been found, and the two communities remain isolated from one another, with virtually no communication or movement among people living in the two zones.

As an exception, in 1983, Ms. Markides accompanied her husband on a tour of the Turkish Cypriot sector. They were accompanied by Bekir and Fatma Azgin, Turkish Cypriots involved in politics there. During

the tour, Ms. Markides asked to visit Kyrenia, the home town of her aunt and the place where she and her husband were married a decade earlier.

What Ms. Markides saw in the town once considered the jewel of Cyprus brought tears to her eyes. Her aunt's home had been abandoned. Turkish flags flew in the streets.

"I felt so sorry for her," says Ms. Azgin, a pharmacist who has worked in politics and as a journalist. She adds: "My husband also lost his former home, which is now in the Greek Cypriot sector of Nicosia. It's a tragedy of humanity."

The empathy felt by the two women, and their ability to share it, gives women what some people believe is an advantage in conflict resolution. Though stereotypes of women, particularly in different cultures, are often controversial, there are a number of common traits that some experts feel are valid. Alice Rossi, a noted US sociologist, has published widely on the issue of gender roles. She writes that women possess certain skills that better enable them to care for others, such as being keenly responsive, and being better able to interpret spoken and unspoken messages.

American scholar Sara Ruddick, in her book *Maternal Thinking*, points out that it is not just the "gifts" that women develop in mothering that makes them good peacemakers. It is also the very practice of mothering itself.

"Women, as mothers, wives and sisters are used to solving conflicts," says Ms. Azgin. "We can negotiate with our enemies. We have a way of looking at the humanistic side of things. And women often suffer the most in wars — losing husbands, sons and homes."



Fatma Azgin (left) and Emily Markides (right) in Washington, DC.

Victoria Irwin



Michael Artault / Gamma-Liaison

(Front line, second and fourth from left) Nobel Peace Prize winners Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams demonstrating against violence in Northern Ireland in 1976.

The bond that began to form between the two Cypriot women in 1983 is complex. Each recognizes that the other has different views about the tragedy dividing their country, as well as separate opinions on how best to bridge the gap.

Ms. Markides, who now lives in the United States, is the former director of the Peace Studies Project at the University of Maine. She believes that new strategies and models for resolving conflicts are needed, and should replace the use of force.

"We need to make efforts to move beyond the dominator approach to a partnership approach," Ms. Markides says. "Women have special talents as negotiators. We need to take destiny in our own hands, and not leave it solely in the hands of men."

What is needed, says Ms. Markides, are more study centres on peace, a goal which she is working towards in Cyprus, Europe and the United States. Such centres would allow intellectuals, educators, politicians and citizens to come together and devise new strategies for peace — just as there are institutions devoted to studying strategies of war.

Ms. Markides is clearly enthusiastic about her ideas. As she speaks she sketches diagrams in a note pad of the different ways that power is traditionally wielded, while explaining why they are now outmoded. She

Despite intimidation from both terrorist groups and the national army, the women have met three times in an undisclosed location, sharing their needs, ideas and concerns.

is open, curious and not afraid to embrace the mystical when she talks about change.

Ms. Azgin, who is more soft-spoken, works tirelessly for women's rights in her community, emphasizing that women must participate in finding a political solution for Cyprus.

The panel on women and international conflict took place with help from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which is supporting several bicomunal projects in Cyprus. Women professionals, along with men from both sides of the island, are working together on a master plan for the divided city of Nicosia. In addition, a centre for women's studies and peace, located inside the buffer zone in Nicosia, has evolved through the efforts of Ms. Markides and others. UNDP has supported this centre, which is slowly building links between both communities.

The two women bring a grassroots approach to conflict resolution that is not uncommon. Sometimes it may mean crossing "enemy" lines; other times it may mean working with children at home, or with other women in the community. In Northern Ireland, for example, Protestant and Catholic women meet regularly to talk about common concerns such as health issues, the lack of child care and unemployment. Says Anne Hope, from Northern Ireland: "The intention is not always conflict resolution, but the women do form bonds."

A white South African at the forum spoke about teaching her son to reject supremacist views, while a black South African recalled her work in helping people living in impoverished townships become more politically active.

In Sri Lanka, women are working to curtail ethnic hostilities between the Tamils and the Sinhalese. Women working at a centre that originally focused on domestic abuse saw that the ethnic conflict also sparked violence against women. A kind of "barefoot" diplomacy began among women from both sides. "We felt we couldn't be isolated," says Kamalini Wijayatilake, one of the women involved in the effort. Despite intimidation from terrorist groups and the national army, the women have met three times in an undisclosed location, sharing their needs, ideas and concerns.

Women's Diplomacy

To resolve conflicts, women tend to use partnerships, negotiation and non-violent approaches, which enable them to become catalysts for peace and political change.

Reena Bernards, a scholar who has studied peace issues in the United States, facilitated the panels at the recent AWID forum. Ms. Bernards directs the Dialogue Project, which brings together American Jewish and Palestinian women leaders to develop and test a model for "women's diplomacy." She spoke recently of several strategies that women have used successfully throughout the world to forge links between opposing sides.

Sharing women's stories helps bridge national and ethnic divisions.

For example, a dialogue between American Jewish and Palestinian women helped them gain greater understanding of each other's background, and how it influenced their identities and beliefs. When they began talking together in 1989, "only then did they see each other as women instead of the enemy," says Ms. Bernards.

Privacy and confidentiality are also very important during any dialogue, both for the protection of women and for the success of the contact. Although publicity is sometimes necessary and good, it can also derail progress if it's premature.

Focus on the search for a common denominator.

A common concern can be simple and not directly related to the conflict, such as high unemployment or a lack of adequate health and child care. It could be the loss of husbands or children due to the conflict. Tamil and Sinhalese women in Sri Lanka, for example, have come together to share their grief over the hostilities that separate them. Apart from a concern, it could also be a mutually acceptable political solution to the conflict.

Take action in the agreed area.

In Northern Ireland, Catholic and Protestant women joined to protest the slated closing of a women's centre because of budget cuts. "If there is no action, it can create even greater hopelessness," says Ms. Bernards. "The more time spent with each other, the less the gap between the two groups."

Ms. Bernards adds that for a grassroots strategy to blossom, it is important that women continue to "caucus" with their own community for support and credibility, and that each group respect what the other is prepared to do.

Significant progress can be made quietly. These and other grassroots efforts can have an important effect on public mobilization, says Ms. Bernards. "Women can look to ways of resolving their common needs, not as enemies, but as partners." — V.I.

One concern shared by many women is the importance of protecting women's rights during conflict situations. As an Indian woman attending the conference pointed out, too often men tell women, "We're in a national struggle, we can't talk about women's rights now."

Ethnic or international conflicts can also provoke women to align more closely with their husbands and fathers. As a woman from Sri Lanka explained, women play two distinct roles in society: nurturer of the family and guardian of culture. The mother is responsible for passing on culture, particularly to her sons. This can make it difficult to speak out for peace when that might go against a deeply ingrained need to defend her own culture and traditions. And taking an unpopular view can be perilous: women seeking peace through unconventional means risk being stigmatized as traitors; the result is too often jail, rape or murder.

Concerning Cyprus, Ms. Azgin says a peaceful resolution must be found soon. "The longer it is delayed, the more difficult it will be to achieve," she says.

Ms. Markides also hopes that her homeland will soon emerge from this tragic chapter in its history. "There is a fundamental need at this critical juncture to create a new vision of humanity that looks beyond artificial boundaries and divisive Green Lines," she says. "This means that society must respect differences, enhance diversity and allow every citizen to play a meaningful role." ■

Victoria Irwin is a freelance writer based in New York City. She is the former New York bureau chief of The Christian Science Monitor.



A mother and daughter in India, both of whom are HIV positive.

Pablo Bartholomew / Gamma-Liaison

Throughout the world, AIDS is crippling local and national economies and is taxing governments to find solutions

The Rising Cost of AIDS

By Siddharth Dube

Mombasa, Kenya — More than a personal tragedy for those it touches, the spread of HIV/AIDS threatens to unravel social and economic development in countries across the globe.

In the Rakai district of Uganda, transport, agriculture and marketing systems have been severely disrupted. Over a third of the adults in urban centres and 12 per cent of adults in rural areas are estimated to be HIV positive. Thousands have died, leaving behind young orphans, ghost towns and untended fields.

In Rwanda, a large number of civil servants, teachers, politicians and other technically skilled people are infected with HIV. The death toll among them and others in their most productive years of life has soared in the past five years.

In Zambia, where copper is the main source of foreign exchange and employment, it is likely that 65 per cent of the industry's workforce will be infected with HIV by the end of this century, only eight years away.

"AIDS is not only a health problem," said William H. Draper III, Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in a recent address to African ministers of planning. "It is perhaps the most serious threat to development in Africa. Without a concerted effort to combat HIV, all of the gains made over the past half century could be wiped out in one generation."

Sub-Saharan Africa's worsening crisis could be a presentiment of things to come in other regions of the world. Every day, 5,000 more people become infected with HIV. By the year 2000, experts predict that the number of people infected may reach 30 million. A good portion of those affected are likely to be in the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia and India, where tens of millions of people are at risk. Recent research from the World Health Organization (WHO) warns that HIV is increasing in Asia "at a pace reminiscent of that in

sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1980s," but that it "may have an even greater potential for spread, given the adult population of nearly 500 million as compared with 225 million in sub-Saharan Africa."

In Latin America and the Caribbean, WHO estimates that HIV infection among adults has reached one million. And the infection has begun to make its way across North Africa and the Arab States.

Though governments everywhere are alarmed at the threat of the disease, only high-level political commitment will enable them to halt its spread and to cope with the epidemic's devastating consequences. In the months ahead, governments will confront the implications of HIV/AIDS for development through a series of UNDP workshops being offered to senior government officials and United Nations staff in the 114 countries where UNDP has offices. One of the aims is to communicate the dire effects of the epidemic, not only on the population at large, but on agriculture, industry, labour supply, credit systems, national savings and other crucial aspects of the economy. Losses in income and productivity are likely to dwarf the direct health care costs of the epidemic.

As might be expected, innovative ways of coping with these challenges are emerging from countries most severely affected. One key has been to devise prevention and support programmes that are multi-sectoral in nature, through the coordination of various national ministries. In Uganda this has been successfully carried out, with the president's office assuming responsibility for the national AIDS prevention drive. "The experience of African governments that have dealt most effectively with the problem shows that HIV cannot be tackled solely by national health ministries," says Elizabeth Reid, UNDP's policy adviser on HIV and development, who chaired a preparatory workshop in Mombasa, Kenya last year. "The only adequate response is for governments to involve a wide range of ministries and to create a supportive environment."

Another lesson learned is that local communities and non-governmental

organizations (NGOs) must be made equal partners in HIV prevention and in caring for those who are ill. In the past decade, many African communities, relying solely on themselves, have found ways to check the spread of HIV and to care for the sick, the dying and for survivors. Organizations such as the Society for Women and AIDS in Africa (SWAA), a continent-wide network, are counselling



Posters in Kenya alert the public to the dangers of HIV/AIDS.

women on how to protect themselves against HIV infection. The AIDS Support Organisation, or TASO, in Uganda, has successfully battled discrimination against people with HIV/AIDS and lobbied for government support for prevention programmes. Studies in Kenya, Malawi and other African countries show that people are acting on their knowledge of HIV and AIDS by asking for mutual fidelity from their partners and by using condoms without fail. Support from religious and social leaders has accelerated behavioural change.

In many ways, the process of combating the epidemic and coping with its fallout has only just begun. But 10 years into the fight against AIDS, there is hope that a partnership among national and local governments, international organizations and communities can help ease the human toll of AIDS, as well as lessen its social and economic impact. ■

AIDS

Getting Communities Involved

Kampala, Uganda — "Whatever programmes we undertake, they should be community based," says S. K. Lwanga, director general of the Uganda AIDS Commission, formed last year to coordinate the response of various government, non-governmental and donor organizations to the country's severe HIV epidemic. It is estimated that more than a million of Uganda's 16 million people already carry the virus that causes AIDS.

A number of public awareness programmes are disseminating information on how the virus is spread. National radio broadcasts, for example, regularly feature people who are HIV positive as spokespersons. The Islamic Council works with the World Health Organization (WHO) to ensure that messages on prevention reach the Moslem population. The Federation of Uganda Employees brings HIV/AIDS education to the sugar factories. WHO's mobile van shows films on HIV infection in communities that have no electricity, sometimes attracting up to 12,000 spectators.

But despite all these efforts, behaviour is slow to change. "People want to be free and do what their ancestors did," says James Kiziri, a social worker at St. Francis

Nsambya Hospital in Kampala, Uganda's capital. Mr. Kiziri estimates that even though up to 65 per cent of Ugandans know how the HIV virus is transmitted, most remain unwilling to take protective measures. This view is shared by Marble Magezi, personal assistant to the director and public relations officer of The AIDS



A Ugandan family coping with AIDS.

Support Organisation (TASO). "We are living in a denial stage," she says. "There are still a lot of myths about symptoms. Many diseases are prevalent in Uganda and people don't want to believe they have AIDS."

To find ways to help people accept and live positively with HIV/AIDS, both TASO and St. Francis Nsambya Hospital are helping infected people, and those close to them, cope with the consequences. One of the founders of TASO, and its director, is Noerine Kaleeba, whose husband died of AIDS after contracting HIV from a blood transfusion. In 1987, hoping to replicate the caring attention he received from medical personnel in the UK during his illness, Ms. Kaleeba and an initial group of 16 volunteers began visiting hospitals in 1987. Today, with funding from ActionAid and other donors, TASO has a staff of 300 serving more than 5,000 clients. Along with medical and nursing care they provide counselling, training for counselors and health educators, and information.

Whenever possible, TASO tries to employ people who are themselves infected. "People with AIDS can speak of their own experiences and are more persuasive," says Ms. Magezi. TASO is also beginning to promote income-generating activities such as bread-baking, handicrafts, tailoring and assembly of patient care kits. But because people who get AIDS may become too weak for such activities, the goal is to involve entire communities.

Operating within a 10-kilometre radius of Kampala, St. Francis Nsambya Hospital has adopted a similar community-based approach. Like TASO it provides counselling, health education, and supportive medical treatment to clients, as well as some material support. "AIDS increases poverty and many of the families affected don't have enough to eat," says Mr. Kiziri.

Yet he is hopeful that the next generation will be more willing to accept warnings about HIV and to act responsibly. With support from UNICEF, the government is introducing lessons on AIDS in a health education programme for primary school children, breaking down a long-standing taboo.

Over the next five years, UNDP will provide US\$15 million for HIV-related programmes in Uganda — 20 per cent of its total allocation for the country. Community-based activities are expected to receive a substantial share of this support. ■

By Mary Lynn Hanley

AIDS

Reaching Out in Rwanda

Kigali, Rwanda — Hilard Katitare was so weak when he first arrived at the Bilyogo Medical Centre that it took him almost an hour to walk the last hundred yards. AIDS and tuberculosis had brought his weight down to under 36 kilograms. But within six months he gained 30 kilograms because of the food and medication provided by the centre. "We thought he had no family," says Waldina Martinez, a registered nurse from Spain who runs the centre. "Then one day his wife appeared with his two children. She is HIV positive, but the children are not."

Today, Mr. Katitare cares for the centre's chickens, which provide eggs that are used in free meals offered to poor families like his own — where one or more members are HIV positive.

The Bilyogo Medical Centre opened its doors in 1988. In 1991 alone, the centre held classes in HIV prevention for 3,400 people, distributed 123,000 free condoms, and conducted testing for the HIV virus. Of 361 people tested last year, 70 per cent were found to be HIV positive.

Photos by Ruth Massey / UNDP



A Rwandan poster discourages promiscuity.



Waldina Martinez with AIDS orphans.

The centre is supported by Caritas, an international non-governmental organization headquartered in Rome. Over the next five years, the Bilyogo centre and others like it will receive additional assistance from UNDP, which plans to allocate US\$15 million to the national AIDS-prevention programme in Rwanda.

Two nurses and three social workers care for those who come here, helping them preserve their dignity and live longer lives. "We have 530 patients at present who receive free treatment and whose families we follow up," says Ms. Martinez. "We make house visits to evaluate the situation and see what the needs are."

Some families just need encouragement and support. Others need counselling and advice. Most have economic problems. For those who cannot afford food, the centre provides powdered milk, porridge, green beans and other rations donated by Caritas and the World Food Programme. The food helps patients regain the strength they need to start working again and to re-enter

community life. The centre also helps destitute families by paying school fees for children.

An important task of the centre is finding homes for children who have lost one or more parents. "Before the mother dies, when we see that her health is fragile, we start looking for a place for the children," says Ms. Martinez. She adds that the ideal solution is to keep them within the extended family. If this is not possible, the centre tries to place the child in an orphanage, which is becoming increasingly difficult because of overcrowding. The last resort, she says, is a foster home, in which case the centre gives the equivalent of \$24 (3000 Rwandan francs) monthly for child support. Some children just live alone, with the centre's help. "At present, we are assisting 64 orphans," Ms.

Martinez says. "Twenty-seven live alone and the same number live with their extended families. Seven are in foster homes and three are in orphanages."

An average of 10 AIDS patients a day find their way to the centre. "We try to dispel their fears and anxieties. Often we are called in at the last minute to treat someone who was rejected by family and friends," says Ms. Martinez. "Above all, we are here to listen, and to give hope, confidence and moral support."

Ms. Martinez adds that sometimes only a small loan is needed to reactivate a market stand that the family ran before AIDS struck them down. "The loans are usually repaid, enabling us to help other families." ■

By Ruth Massey

V I E W P O I N T

Africa: What Price, Freedom of the Press?

By Gwen Lister

In April of 1991 a Windhoek seminar examined ways to support the emergence of an independent and pluralistic press in Africa. Editor Gwen Lister of *The Namibian* writes that before this can be achieved economic and political obstacles must be overcome.

Windhoek, Namibia — Can the independent press in southern Africa survive? And has it any chance of getting off the ground in countries now moving towards multi-party systems? It is my opinion that the free and independent press in both South Africa and Namibia, as in other parts of the region, are in jeopardy.

"They may not always have the power, but we will always have the pen" is an adage that I believed implicitly while working as a journalist in a country that for decades was firmly under the colonial heel of apartheid South Africa. In 1985, I helped to found a weekly newspaper, *The*



Illustration by Mary Vengrofski. Bird by Christopher Jensen

Namibian, which called for the immediate implementation of UN Resolution 435, the so-called "Swapo Plan," which would provide for free and fair elections leading to Namibian independence. Many felt that we could never succeed, that we would be banned, bombed or jailed. Even the name of the newspaper was a challenge

to the authorities. "Namibia" was a word used only outside "southwest Africa," and then only by "subversives" and "terrorists." In the unfriendly atmosphere that surrounded us, the rest of the media were either pro-South African or apathetic. They were certainly not prepared to lobby for the Swapo Plan.

The Namibian unashamedly opposed South African occupation and said it was up to the people to choose. It covered Swapo rallies broken up by tear-gas and rubber bullets. It reported on mass detentions, and gave a human face to what the government called the "terrorist" movement. Its reporters were jailed, harassed, threatened and denied passports. Our offices were bombed, shot at and set afire.

Today, looking back at those times, we can perhaps claim to have made a contribution to achieving a peaceful settlement for our country. Contrary to most expectations, the South Afri-

can government finally capitulated and agreed to the implementation of the UN plan. The people elected a Swapo government, which immediately began drawing up a bill of rights and an internationally-acclaimed constitution. It provides everyone the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media, as provided for in the UN Charter, and guarantees a free press and freedom of information.

But while the old and long-standing struggle for democracy is over, another has begun which has placed the newly-found independent press in Namibia under severe threat. *The Namibian* stands alone as an independent newspaper, while the rest of the media has become monopolized and controlled by political parties and the government, benefiting from their economic support.

The government cannot be accused of trying to tamper or interfere with press freedom. Since independence in March 1990 there has been a proliferation of newspapers whose diversity is well known. But at the same time, the government started its own newspaper and attracted many journalists from the "independent" press by offering high salaries, housing benefits and other incentives.

Meanwhile the opposition party, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, has gained control of the country's two commercial printing presses. It also owns two daily newspapers, two weeklies and a magazine. Unable to compete, smaller independent papers have had to close down due to financial problems. These developments now threaten the country's emerging private press.

I do not deny government or party mouthpieces the right to exist, nor would I completely negate their role. But the independent media is undoubtedly the most valuable in sustaining the country's new democracy. What is known as the "alternative" press in Namibia, and in several other southern African countries, is in grave danger. In South Africa, it appears that the "alternative" newspapers could thrive only as long as the state of emergency lasted. Today, they are running out of causes and money. A colleague on

**There
was a time
when the
alternative
press had
only to cry
for help
and it
arrived.
But that
magic
has faded.**

the *Weekly Mail* in South Africa recently wrote that "the alternative press will soon die. It will not be the glorious death we always expected, the brave battle to the last against the forces of darkness. No, it will die quietly, strangled by the very people who created it."

There was a time when the alternative press had only to cry for help and it arrived. But that magic has faded. Former supporters now want the papers to steer towards self-sufficiency. This holds true and has created difficulties for Namibia's independent press as well.

Despite having grown to become a daily, and the largest selling newspaper in the country, *The Namibian* now is also battling to achieve self-sufficiency. This is a difficult task in the face of the opposition party's monopoly on the presses, exorbitantly high printing costs, stiff competition for advertising and distribution problems in a large and sparsely populated country.

Freedom of the press and freedom of information are cornerstones of any democracy. Namibians, in particular, who have only recently emerged from the dark days of colonialism and who are only now becoming conscious of their newfound rights, would be the losers if the independent press were to die. Our democracy will not flourish if we do not have a truthfully informed electorate.

Similarly, in neighbouring countries moving towards multi-party systems, emerging independent newspapers will undoubtedly be hamstrung by problems of funding and a lack of experienced journalists. To help overcome these obstacles, strong support should be given to free press movements now under way in several African nations, such as Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. In 1991, a Windhoek seminar organized by the UN's Department of Public Information, UNESCO, UNDP and bilateral donors resolved to assist the independent press in Africa through a number of proposed projects that will, among other things, provide training to African journalists. We are hopeful that more funding and support from the international community will follow.

Emphasizing the violations of freedom of the

press in many African countries, the seminar noted that "today, at least 17 journalists, editors or publishers are in African prisons, and 48 African journalists were killed in the exercise of their profession between 1969 and 1990."

The seminar also resolved that all funding should encourage pluralism of the press as well as independence. "As a consequence, the public media should be funded only where authorities guarantee a constitutional and effective freedom of information and expression and the independence of the press," it noted.

A glance at the independent press in only a few African countries reveals the scope of the challenges.

While Cameroon, for example, has had a fairly vigorous independent press, it suffers from censorship. Still, Pius Njawa, editor of *Le Messager*, who has been detained and his paper seized on a number of occasions, now says that he is optimistic. "Within the regime, there are people who favour greater press freedom," he says.

The independent press in Ghana, once flourishing, is now in a bad state. This is attributed both to economic factors and to deliberate actions by the government, which keeps the press in line by controlling newsprint supplies and through a licensing system.

Kenya, which once had a significant independent press, now faces a situation that is far from encouraging. *The Nairobi Law Monthly* has been banned and the struggle over its future is being waged.

In Nigeria, where the press does not have any constitutional protection, editors constantly battle against bannings and detentions. And in Uganda the independent press continues to survive in the face of economically unfavourable circumstances and government interference.

"We may have every liberty, but if we do not have the economic and financial means to express them, then this makes a mockery of liberty." This was the view of three Senegalese editors when their papers were threatened by an increase in costs. High costs, and the exorbitant



Journalists protest infringements on press freedom in South Africa.

**Freedom
of the
press
and
freedom of
information
are
cornerstones
of any
democracy.**

price of newsprint, have made it difficult for the independent press there to survive.

Throughout Africa, governments are being called upon to free detained journalists, lift bans on publications and enact constitutional protections concerning freedom of the press. At times, international pressure has helped to ensure that governments heed these calls.

We in southern Africa, and in Namibia in particular, cannot afford to be lulled into complacency by the belief that our constitution guarantees democracy. Without a vigorous and independent press it will be more difficult to guard against excesses if and when they occur.

The Namibian for one will continue to represent the will and conscience of the people, and will reflect their fears, grievances, hopes and frustrations. We have, against most expectations, made the transition from a society under siege to a democracy. But we believe that our task has not diminished in importance. We must help to ensure that democracy lives and, with it, the independent press. ■

Old Myths, New Actions: Human Development Reconsidered

By Mahbub ul Haq

United Nations, New York — The 1990 *Human Development Report* defined human development as "a process of enlarging people's choices." Opportunities to earn greater income is one choice. But equally important are options in education, health, environment and political and economic freedom.

The 1990 report and the one that followed explored the many dimensions of human development. In some cases, they challenged conventional wisdom, exploded popular myths, and reached important policy conclusions.

Among the most important messages to emerge is that development, overall, has been largely successful when judged by human development indicators. In the last three decades, average life expectancy in the developing world has increased by 16 years, adult literacy by 40 per cent, per capita nutrition levels by over 20 per cent. In the last 30 years, developing countries have achieved human development levels that took industrialized nations nearly a century to reach. The challenge for developing countries in the next decade is to go beyond human survival concerns and to invest heavily in all levels of human capital formation — particularly in technical and managerial skills.

Second, we must not assume that rapid economic growth rates will translate automatically into higher levels of human development. The real world offers far too many contradictions. Adult literacy in Saudi Arabia, for example, is lower than in Sri Lanka, despite the fact that its per capita income is 15 times higher. Child mortality in Jamaica is one-fourth that in Brazil, despite the fact that Jamaica's per capita income is half of Brazil's.

Third, we cannot assume that developing countries are too poor to achieve their human development goals. In countries throughout the world, there are countless examples of wasted resources and unproductive expenditures, including money spent on the military and inefficient public enterprises. If such waste is reduced, and military expenditures frozen, developing countries could save a total of US\$50 billion annually, which could be invested in people.

Fourth, poverty in the South is not only a domestic issue, it is also a global concern. Poverty and its consequences, in-

cluding disease, migration, environmental degradation and political instability, are problems that defy national boundaries. Conversely, assistance in fighting poverty can have global benefits. If poor women are given primary education, for example, birth rates decline — dramatically.

Finally, as the 1992 *Human Development Report* will show, protectionism in trade costs developing countries several times the amount they receive in Official Development Assistance (ODA). Fundamental reforms are needed in the global marketplace if poorer nations are to get a competitive chance.

Already, the concept of human development has moved to the centre of the global development dialogue. It is being reflected in national development plans and strategies — from Bangladesh to Ghana, from Pakistan to Colombia — and has become an important topic in discussions on development assistance. It is the core of the International Development Strategy endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly for the decade of the 1990s.

Human development offers the conceptual framework through which development in the years ahead can become more positive, realistic and sustainable. But none of the work carried out so far will be of any real value if the concept is not translated into action. How can this best be accomplished?

Devising national strategies

Developing countries face the most daunting tasks. They need to formulate their own long-term human development goals, cost these goals, and integrate them into realistic growth and investment strategies. They also need to make changes, in both institutions and policies, that will allow these goals to be achieved.

This is not just a technocratic exercise. Such changes can often be radical, challenging the fundamental values of a society and requiring nothing less than the full mobilization of political will to carry them out.

International organizations can offer some help. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), along with the UN Children's Fund and other UN agencies, are already at work in 20 countries that have requested assistance in formulating human development strategies.

Industrialized countries will have different priorities, but they too will need to clarify their objectives and develop new approaches to confront such intractable problems as homelessness, drug addiction and urban violence. The challenge for these countries will be to strike a balance between market efficiency and social compassion.

Developing new criteria for project appraisal

Development projects may be technically and economically sound, yet cause considerable social and political damage. At times, development projects have increased existing disparities between urban and rural areas, and widened the gap between men and women as well as between ethnic groups and geographical regions. Many of today's formulae for appraising potential projects ignore such concerns, and concentrate solely on technical, financial and economic feasibility.

Human development demands that projects be appraised primarily in terms of their impact on people. UNDP is already undertaking a major research programme on "people-centred" approaches to project appraisal.

Targeting aid where it is needed most

A human development strategy will have a profound impact on the future of ODA — its scale, its distribution, and its content. Future policy dialogues between donors and recipients are bound to reflect such concerns in a number of different areas.

Today, for example, only 23 per cent of ODA is earmarked for the poorest nations, and an even smaller proportion (seven per cent) is allocated to human priority concerns. A

major restructuring of ODA will be needed if it is to address both poverty and human development.

There will always be situations in which donors will raise questions about the policies of recipient nations, before making aid allocations. Military spending is likely to be at the top of the list. Donors will want to see recipients scaling down these expenditures and redirecting resources from military to human needs.

Donors too will be expected to reassess their own policies if they are to retain their credibility. At present, aid tends to flow to political and military allies. Twice as much aid per capita, for example, is being given to high military spenders as to low spenders. Donors will also have to reduce their own military spending and discourage the export of arms.

Many donors are now also considering a country's human rights record in their aid calculations — reflecting a growing concern for human rights worldwide. This is an area where informal dialogue could be far more effective than formal conditionality. Democracy is a native plant — it often wilts under foreign pressure.

The concept of human development has lent a new vigour to the development debate in the 1990s. What is important now is to translate this concept into concrete action. For human destiny rests on choice, not chance. ■

Mahbub ul Haq, former finance minister of Pakistan, is the chief architect of UNDP's Human Development Reports. The 1992 report will be released in April.

Human Development: What it is Not

While many of the policy messages of human development are widely understood, some basic misunderstandings still exist. The danger is that "human development" will become more a fashion than a practice, more a slogan than a blueprint for action.

Some analysts, for example, have incorrectly described human development as anti-growth: that it focuses on the distribution rather than the generation of income, that it is a social rather than a developmental concern. In reality, nothing could be further from the truth. Human development is concerned both with developing human capabilities and with their productive use. The former requires investment in people. The latter requires that people contribute to GNP growth and employment. But both sides of the equation are essential and interrelated.

Another misconception is that human development is primarily sectoral — concerned with investments in education,

health and other social services. This is incorrect. Development of people is certainly vital, but it is only one part of the picture. Human development also means development for people, including the creation of economic opportunities for all. It means development by people, requiring participatory approaches. Human development encompasses all three aspects, not just one.

Yet another misunderstanding is that human development strategies are valid only for the poorest societies, with the primary goal of satisfying basic needs. Human development is equally important for industrialized countries, middle income developing countries, and the poorest nations, whatever their aspirations — from satisfying basic needs to encouraging technological innovations to attacking deeply rooted social problems. The fact that these aspirations will change over time is implicit in the human development concept. — **M.U.H.**

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Edited by Paul Boyd

Central American Presidents

Growth at the Service of People

Pledging to "assemble all forces" for human development in their countries, six Central American presidents signed the "Declaration and Commitment of Tegucigalpa" at a summit meeting on 12-13 December. President Rafael Angel Calderon of Costa Rica said that the region looks forward to an "era of hope" after the "lost decade" of war, weakened trade and economic austerity in the 1980s. The other signatories were the presidents of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama. The prime minister of Belize attended as an observer.

Human development means placing "economic growth at the service of people" for improved living conditions and full realization of their capacities, the presidents said. They added that this is indispensable for "peace, liberty, democracy and development" in the region. As UNDP Administrator William H. Draper III stated in his speech to the summit, "Just as peace is an essential condition for development, development is crucial for the consolidation of the peace."

Each country has set up a government commission to define the most important social development problems and possible solutions. The presidents also reviewed human develop-

ment recommendations from the new Central American Parliament and welcomed creation of a social projects fund within the Central American Bank for Economic Integration. They also called for a Central American Council for Human Development, comprised of ministers responsible for social, economic and financial policies.

Resetting Targets

What Can Parliaments Do?

- Examine public and private spending to ensure it is targeted on human needs.
- Create specific planning tools and parliamentary structures for these analyses, using criteria established in UNDP's *Human Development Report*.

Representatives from 85 parliaments around the world and from seven international parliamentary groups recently agreed

on these and other actions. They met in Santiago, Chile, last October at a world conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union; IPU "works for peace and cooperation among peoples and to strengthen representative institutions."

After debating human development and its implications for economic growth and democracy, the parliamentarians unanimously approved 24 recommendations, including a number based on the 1991 *Human Development Report*. They called for:

- all countries to make a firm political commitment and redirect current spending to human development, especially countries with heavy military expenditures;
- donor countries to reassess their aid priorities and recipient countries to realign their expenditures so as to increase the human expenditure ratio;
- global action on human development so that by the year 2000 all have access to primary education, primary health care, family planning, safe water, adequate nutrition, and opportunities for productive, remunerative and satisfying employment.

Aldo Ajello, director of UNDP's Bureau for External Relations and a former member of the Italian and European Parliaments, addressed the conference. He suggested parliamentarians could establish human development committees to help place these issues "at the centre of political

debate and make sure that what was impossible today could become possible tomorrow."

For conference report contact: IPU, Place du Petit-Saconnex, PO Box 438, CH-1211 Geneva 19, Switzerland.

New German Aid Strategy

Putting People First

The East-West conflict is over, and so is its political and ideological impact on developing countries and external aid policies. Against this backdrop, and with its own East-West division mended, the Government of Germany has taken a new look at its development cooperation with developing countries. A strategy of "putting people first" and of concentrating bilateral aid on poverty and the environment has been adopted by the Federal Ministry of Cooperation.

As described by its senior planners, German aid policy will also consider three "background conditions" for success in overcoming poverty: "people's participation in the political process; responsible and accountable government leadership; and observance of human rights." These factors are seen as consistent with positions taken by the South Commission chaired by Tanzania's former President Julius Nyerere and with human rights conventions adopted by the UN and regional groupings of developing countries.

Similar views are held by the chairman of the Economic Coop-

◆ ◆ ◆
"The basic objective of human development is to enlarge the range of peoples' choices... in order to make development more democratic and participatory."

From world conference resolution, Inter-Parliamentary Union

◆ ◆ ◆

eration Committee of Germany's parliament (Bundestag), Dr. Uwe Holtz. Influencing developing countries to respect human rights, he says, "has nothing to do with the imperialistic intervention of the past, but means espousing the cause of the economically weak and politically oppressed."

Citing UNDP's *Human Development Report*, the German policy also looks for recipients to reduce military budgets and thus win more resources for national development.

For more information, contact Planning Department, Federal Ministry of Cooperation, Bonn, Germany.

United Yemen

One People, Many Needs

Yemen faces an unusually pressing human development agenda. North and south Yemen united politically in May 1990 and began merging two distinct social and economic systems. Only 10 weeks later came the Gulf crisis, which forced 800,000 Yemeni workers to return home from nearby countries. This led to the loss of over US\$1 billion in annual foreign exchange remittances, rising demand on scarce social services, and worsened unemployment (projected at 25 per cent of the work force, compared to 10 per cent pre-crisis). During 1991, bilateral assistance decreased sharply following po-

litical realignments in the wake of the Gulf crisis.

These shocks came on top of other long-standing difficulties in this least developed country. With one of the world's highest birth rates, Yemen's 12.3 million people confront a widening food gap. Drought is frequent and desertification affects 97 per cent of the territory — which is the size of France. Water resources are at near-crisis level, with only 200 cubic metres per person annually for all purposes. Weak agriculture means 70 per cent of food is imported, and nutritional levels are the world's sixth lowest.

Several government initiatives were launched in 1991 to respond to these urgencies. Newly combined administrative structures will be decentralized, opening possibilities for more participation by women, communities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in development planning and action. Ambitious human development targets have been set in many areas and endorsed by a national population conference.

Symposia considered human resources development, desertification and environment, resulting in Yemen's first "Environment Overview." A UNDP-supported Round Table is slated for May 1992 to help define areas for donor participation, and there are signs of renewed interest by some bilateral agencies.

Human development has been set as a concentration in the forthcoming five-year Yemen/

YEMEN: TARGETS FOR YEAR 2000

	Current	Target
Health		
Maternal mortality	1,000 per 100,000	500 per 100,000
Infant mortality	131 per 1,000	60 per 1,000
Primary health care	35% of population covered	90% of population covered
Life expectancy	46.3 years	60 years
Population growth rate	3.1% per year	2% per year
Fertility rate	8.4 live births per woman	6 live births per woman
Education		
Adult literacy	Female: 14.6% Male: 54.0%	50% 70%
Primary education	76% of school age children	85% of school age children

Rank in 1991 Human Development Index: 130 out of 160 countries
Gross national product per person, 1988: US\$595

UNDP country programme, with four main areas of assistance:

Health: train health extension workers, especially for rural areas; improve health services management at central, governorate and district levels; and introduce finance, budget and statistical methods to support new health policies.

Education: unify the country's education system; project national needs for staff, training and finance; develop policy, staffing, institutions and labour force analyses for expansion of vocational and technical training to rebalance labour demand and supply.

Employment: assess sectoral demands for labour; generate self-employment, especially for

women and rural people, through small income-generating projects and related credit schemes; attract higher levels of private investment for job creation.

Other: incorporate human development considerations in other areas of concentration — national strategies, development management and natural resources and environment. For example, censuses and surveys will develop improved data on labour, nutrition, households, maternal and infant mortality rates, standards of living, population and housing.



PERU'S CHOLERA CONQUISTADORS

Doctors see poverty as the main cause of a deadly epidemic

By Denise Barricklow

Iquitos, Peru — Years ago, this Peruvian jungle river port was a rubber boom town dubbed the Pearl of the Amazon for its luxury hotels and champagne and caviar galas. Today, the hotels are empty and the glitter is gone.

Iquitos, like most of Peru, has been battered by a deepening recession and even harder hit by the country's newest foe: cholera. In this city of 350,000, an average of 200 people have contracted the deadly disease nearly every week since cholera invaded the country in January 1991.

A tour of Iquitos Hospital, a medical facility located in the heart of the city, shows how difficult combating the disease has been in the face of crippling economic woes. For nearly a year, the main entrance to the hospital has been blocked by striking health care workers.

"It's been months since they were last

paid," explains Clara Bustamante, one of the hospital's few working nurses. Inside, a group of recovering cholera victims lie silently on a row of tiny, unkempt cots. Still dressed in their street clothes after a night-long bout with the disease, the patients bear the look of shell-shocked soldiers, dazed by their near brush with death.

Although diarrhoeal diseases are rife in Peru and in other parts of Latin America, last year marked the first time that cholera had invaded the region in more than 100 years. As a result, many Peruvians remain confused about the workings of what is to them a strange and exotic malady. This ignorance has forced the country's medical professionals to double as educators and community activists.

"You can't just trust God that you or your family won't get cholera," says Ms. Bustamante to a group of patients, before

**Peruvian doctors and nurses
have kept the death rate
from cholera down to a
remarkable one per cent.**

launching into a lecture on the importance of good hygiene. It is a speech that she has repeated many times to isolated farmers and fishermen on her frequent trips into the jungle. "All your water is polluted," she says. "We don't tell you to wash your hands or boil your water because we like to. Cholera is a living bacteria that will kill you if you don't kill it."

Ms. Bustamante is one of the leaders on the front line in Latin America's fight against cholera. Of the countries currently under attack by the disease, Peru is the most besieged. Here, cholera has already sickened more than 260,000 people. That is about five times the total number of cases reported in all 11 other countries in the Americas where cholera has been detected: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama and the US.

But if Peru is the country most brutalized by the epidemic, it has also been blessed with a dedicated battalion of doctors and nurses who have managed to perform miraculous work in the face of truly formidable odds.

The cholera epidemic hit Peru about the time most of the country's health care workers staged a walk-out to protest wages that ran as low as US\$37 a month. As in Iquitos, the strike left the country's already strapped government hospitals without a support staff. Despite this, the doctors and nurses who stayed on the job were able to keep the mortality rate down to a remarkable one per cent. As of October 1991, less than 2,600 cholera deaths had been reported in Peru.

The death toll was kept to a minimum even in the jungles of Loreto, which surround Iquitos. Here, in a province nearly as big as Germany, just a dozen government-paid medical teams took care of more than 200,000 Indians, most of whom

could only be reached by boat. In Africa, where the doctor-patient ratio is comparably low, the mortality rate from cholera ranges from six to 30 per cent.

Timing is critical if a patient is to survive a bout with cholera. The disease is caused by bacteria that lodge in the intes-

been key in maintaining a low death rate. "At the beginning of the epidemic, we received a lot of offers for technical assistance. People came here and said, 'You don't know anything about cholera.' I told them that we had people here who knew at least the basic things, so let us do the job.

Now the international community is saying, 'What happened in Peru? How did they get such a low mortality rate?'"

But if Peru's medical community has thus far stood its ground against the disease, experts caution that the fight is far from over. Cholera is spread by the improper disposal of human waste that contaminates drinking water and food. It can also be transmitted by apparently healthy travellers who are not aware that they carry the bacteria, and who can inadvertently contaminate an entire waste system.

This particular strain of the disease is caused by the bacterium *Vibrio cholerae*, which medical specialists say only produces tell-tale symptoms in one of every four infected persons.

In this way, cholera spreads around the globe, usually in waves. While cholera is endemic to poor countries such as India and Bangladesh, the current worldwide epidemic, the seventh in recorded history, began in Indonesia in 1961. The disease invaded Africa 20 years ago and hit South America via Peru last year, sparking the continent's first major outbreak of the disease since 1866.

Unless strong action is taken it is feared that it will make a permanent home in Peru and in other Latin American nations lacking public facilities.

"Cholera doesn't have a passport," says Dr. Salazar. "This is a regional problem. The boundaries between countries don't exist for this disease."

The Pan American Health Organization calculates that providing adequate water and sewerage to Peru's 22 million inha-



Promoting good hygiene is part of a mass education campaign.

tines, prompting severe diarrhoea and vomiting. An infected person can lose 10 per cent of his or her weight in one night. If lost body fluids and salts are not replaced in a matter of hours, the disease can be fatal. Such dehydration is usually countered with oral rehydration salts (ORS) — a combination of salts and sugars, which is mixed with clean water and given orally.

Health experts attribute Peru's low cholera death rate to the doctors' hard work and prudent use of medical supplies and other aid donated by a host of international organizations, including the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

"The Peruvian nurses and doctors did a heroic job," says Dr. Julio Burbano, of the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), which oversaw the relief effort in coordination with UNDP. "With a very poor infrastructure, they managed to distribute ORS in every town. This helped save many lives."

Dr. Eduardo Salazar, the head of Peru's Cholera Commission, says the dedication of the country's medical professionals has



A family member who died of cholera is buried in the hills surrounding Lima.

Hector Mat / Gamma-Liaison

bitants would require a \$3.2 billion investment by the government over the next decade. In recent years, the country has invested less than one-tenth of that amount, an average of \$31 million annually.

The hinterlands of Peru are particularly bad off. Here, just 12 per cent of the population has access to latrines or sewerage, while only 22 per cent drinks safe water. The picture is somewhat brighter for Peru's city dwellers, 75 per cent of whom have access to public sewerage and potable water.

It is in the shanty towns of Peru that cholera has executed its deadliest forays. Belén, a squalid fishing village on the outskirts of Iquitos, is a typical example. Children cavort amid trash piles teeming with vultures. Rows of rickety latrines empty directly into the Amazon, the main source of drinking water. And villagers think nothing of eating river fish or iced drinks prepared by street vendors.

Even in the wealthier parts of Iquitos, the situation is grave. Government offi-

cials say the filters for the city's three reservoirs only recently were cleaned for the first time in eight years. "We just don't have the money to cover maintenance costs," explains Juan Pinedo Nájara, head of SEDALORETO, the agency that manages the water and sanitation systems in Iquitos and the surrounding province of Loreto.



A Balaguer / Sigma

A young cholera victim.

In urban Peru, especially parts of Lima, sanitation and water problems have been exacerbated by a population boom. An estimated three million people have migrated to the Peruvian capital since 1980, bringing the population to seven

million. The migrants are mostly poor farmers who fled the highlands to escape the Shining Path guerrillas, an extremist group that advocates the violent overthrow of the government.

Today, downtown Lima is surrounded by spider-web-like rings of squatter settlements called *pueblos jóvenes*, or young towns. Little more than rows of cardboard shacks, with dirt floors and no electricity or running water, the *pueblos jóvenes* have proved to be as welcome a haven for cholera as the slums of Belén.

Nor have Lima's better neighbourhoods been spared. Problems of a run-down water and sewer system are compounded by blackouts caused by Shining Path bombings. "The water system in Lima is extremely old and not very reliable," says PAHO's Dr. Burbano. "There are a lot of pipelines with leaks. When the power fails and the pumps suddenly stop working, the water can mix with sewage or polluted groundwater."

Solid waste disposal is also a major problem. Trash is generally picked up

only in neighbourhoods that can afford collection services. One-third of the garbage produced in Lima every day is simply left on the street to rot, according to PAHO. In addition, 98 per cent of the city's sewage is dumped untreated into the ocean or into the Rimac River, a source of drinking water.

This dumping of raw sewage along the coast, where two-thirds of the country's people live, and into the main rivers, is probably the most important factor responsible for the inroads cholera has made in Peru. Pollution not only makes the drinking water unsafe, but contaminates the food supply, as most of the crops grown in Peru are irrigated with untreated river water. *Ceviche*, a dish of

World Bank until it pays off an estimated \$2.2 billion in arrears that accrued after the government suspended foreign debt payments in the mid-1980s.

President Fujimori has been making a concerted effort to regain the country's international financial standing by reducing bureaucracy and adopting one of the most liberal investment policies in the region.

But this radical adjustment programme has come at a cost. Shortly after assuming office in 1989, President Fujimori removed long-standing government subsidies and raised the prices on a host of products and services in an effort to end the hyper-inflation that plagued the country for years. As a result, the cost of gas,

Stamping out cholera is likely to prove impossible unless both health and economic issues are resolved. "Cholera is not going to be overcome by the physicians, by medicine, by vaccines," says Dr. Garcia. "It's a disease that will only be conquered when the politicians raise the conditions of living and provide better food and shelter for the people."

Barring this panacea, Dr. Salazar says health officials plan to step up their defense against cholera. Improved hygiene is being targeted through education campaigns in schools and hospitals. Last October, the government converged on the shanty towns of Lima to distribute 50,000 20-litre plastic containers, which can be used with chlorine tablets to store

"In a way, cholera has had a positive impact. It has made us more health conscious than we have ever been before."

raw fish and vegetables that is a national favourite, is also known to have caused numerous cases.

Doctors battling the disease say they hope the epidemic will make Peru and the rest of Latin America aware of the importance of safe water and sanitation. "In the 1800s, the cholera epidemic woke up the government," says Dr. Uriel Garcia, a physician who served as Peru's health minister in the early 1980s. "Very stiff measures were taken in order to quarantine all vessels coming in from infected areas, and plans to construct Peru's first scientifically-designed water and sewer system got under way."

Unfortunately, it doesn't appear that the Peruvian government can afford to make substantial new investments to improve its water and sanitation systems anytime soon. The country is unable to borrow money from the IMF and the

electricity and food rose by between 1,000 and 3,000 per cent.

In an effort to put money back into the state treasury, the president also refused to raise the salaries of Peru's two million government employees, including health care workers. With inflation, this has meant that their incomes have fallen in real terms by almost 50 per cent in the last year. Today, some 13 million Peruvians live in extreme poverty.

The cholera epidemic added to the country's financial woes when a wave of barriers flew up around the world to block the country's food and fish exports. Experts estimate the epidemic cost the country \$700 million in lost revenue in 1991, or about one-fifth of its total exports.

Cholera has also hurt the already terrorist-scarred tourism industry, which lost \$70 million during the first 60 days of the epidemic. In early April, 40 of the 114 hotels in Cuzco, the ancient Inca capital and Peru's main tourist attraction, had closed.

safe drinking water. Another safe water education project designed on a national scale is being mapped out by UNDP and PAHO in conjunction with the government. Legal measures are also being applied. New laws requiring all Lima hospitals to install septic tanks by March 1992 will curb medical waste dumped directly into the Rimac River.

While the fight against cholera is bound to be a protracted battle, the Peruvian medical community can already lay claim to some important victories. "This is the first time in Peru that the issue of hygiene, of boiling water, of treating diarrhoea, has been brought to the attention of the people," says Dr. Salazar. "In a way, cholera has had a positive impact. It has made us more health conscious than we have ever been before." ■

Denise Barricklow is a New York based journalist.

Mongolia: Braving a Winter of Discontent



A winter day in Ulaanbaatar, outside a government ministry.

Nancy Buiski

By Hugh O'Haire

**Undeterred by
economic woes,
the country
speeds ahead
with
bold reforms.**

Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia — The fierce winter has arrived in this remote Asian capital, bringing with it frigid temperatures ranging from -29 to -34 degrees Celsius at a time when the country is steeped in crisis: the reformist government is grappling with severe economic hardship caused by Mongolia's rapid transition from a centrally-planned to a free-market economy.

In Ulaanbaatar, fuel is scarce and food is rationed. Power outages routinely darken the city, and the country's currency is all but worthless. Still, the government presses on. "Our objective is full-scale transformation of the entire

economic and political system," says First Deputy Prime Minister Davaadorjiin Ganbold.

In July 1990, following the country's first free elections, a coalition government promised democratic reforms and economic independence, shattering seven decades of Soviet-imposed isolation and almost complete economic reliance on its northern neighbour. Within a year, a privatization programme got under way. Many price controls were eliminated. Small shops and enterprises, state farms and herds of livestock were auctioned off to individuals and private businesses.



J. Langevin / Sigma

Teaching of the Mongolian script has recently been reintroduced in schools.

In Ulaanbaatar, state-run stores are sold out of what few staples they have early in the day. Still, shoppers continue to visit them after work, in the vain hope that a shipment of meat, butter or eggs

store for us," says Mr. Ganbold. "We cannot forget that we are in a process of a giant leap from one condition into another. The old system fell apart and the new one is only at its formative stage."

Mr. Ganbold, who played a major role in the demonstrations that ousted Mongolia's communist regime in 1990, is considered the leading economic reformer in the new government. He is closely aligned with the theories of Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs — an adviser to Mongolia's prime minister as well as Russian President Boris Yeltsin — and with other Western economists

As the state-run system withers away, it is being replaced by hard times instead of the brave new world of expectations.

Plans for a stock market were set in motion, and foreign investors were invited to explore for oil and to help develop Mongolia's other assets — including its extensive mineral deposits.

However, as the old state-run system withers away, it is being replaced by hard times instead of the brave new world of expectations. The initial euphoria of the Mongolian people for reform has turned into a winter of discontent as they realize the enormity of the task before them.

Unemployment in Mongolian cities is increasing rapidly and, though estimates vary, per capita income may have dropped to as low as US\$100 a year, which would place Mongolia currently among the poorest countries in the world. Making matters worse, inflation has ruined the value of the *tugrik*, the basic monetary unit, which has been replaced by the US dollar in Mongolia's markets. Rural herders do not want to sell livestock to city dwellers for worthless currency. Food conditions have worsened because of torrential rains that spoiled last year's wheat harvest.

may have arrived. Silently, they mill about looking at empty shelves before slipping out into the arctic wind that whistles past the store doors.

The city's antiquated power plants continue to break down due to lack of oil and replacement parts. Blocks and blocks of drab, Soviet-style flats remain without electricity for days at a time. The capital is eerily quiet at night, except for the Ulaanbaatar Hotel, which is bustling with experts from private and international organizations as well as Japanese, Korean and American businessmen. Petty theft and prostitution are evident around the hotels, as is public drunkenness.

Politically, the situation is tenuous because of economic conditions. There have already been demonstrations in Ulaanbaatar — which contains a quarter of the country's total population of 2.1 million — calling for more food and even for an end to the reforms. The government recognizes the potential threat to its programme and has set a goal of completing the transition process within two years.

"There are grueling tests and trials in

who designed reforms for Eastern European countries.

But while the situation in Mongolia has some parallels with Eastern Europe, the Asian country's plight is unique, and in some ways, worse. Mongolia remains economically and culturally isolated and receives little or no attention from the world media. Having spent the past 70 years as an economic satellite of the former Soviet Union — now the Commonwealth of Independent States, or CIS — Mongolia lacks ties with world markets. Its remote location and poor transportation systems have hampered trade, even with such potentially important partners as China and Japan.

During the 1980s, more than 85 per cent of Mongolia's foreign trade was with its Soviet neighbour. Since last year, when the reforms set in, trade with the Soviets has fallen by more than 50 per cent, and an estimated 40,000 Soviet technicians have left the Mongolian factories, mines and state enterprises they helped run.



Pollution from factories on the outskirts of Ulaanbaatar darken cloudless skies.

UNDP Administrator William H. Draper III (second from right) meeting with Mongolia's Prime Minister Dashuun Byambasuren (third from right) in New York last June.



Sid Kane / UNDP

The bulk of Mongolia's oil, and 60 per cent of its spare parts and equipment, were also imported from the former Soviet Union on a credit system, and usually paid for in copper and other minerals. Now that imports must be paid for in hard currency, these essential supplies have declined sharply. The resulting shortage in parts, raw materials and technical assistance needed to operate state enterprises has caused industrial production to plummet.

The Mongolian government's unwavering commitment to seeing this difficult period through, however, has rallied international aid, which most observers say is essential if a free-market system is to succeed. So far, an estimated \$240 million has been raised for balance of payments support and capital and technical assistance. Coordination of this aid was one of the main topics at an October

1991 international donors consultation in Ulaanbaatar, organized by the government with assistance from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

In urging donor support, UNDP Administrator William H. Draper III likened Mongolia to a "wartime economy."

"We must help," said Mr. Draper in an address to donors. "The Mongolian people are determined to work for the creation of a market economy and for the maintenance of their fledgling democracy. We must establish our determination that this great potential for development will not be lost."

A significant portion of the aid pledged was in the form of food aid to help Mongolians get through the winter. Other assistance will follow pending the completion of studies in various social and economic sectors.

Once the immediate economic crisis is contained, the government intends to move forward, speedily. It plans to balance the budget, restrict monetary growth, privatize all state enterprises and liberalize remaining price controls as well as internal and external trade.

Yet Mongolians admit that they do not have the expertise to run a market economy. "Our comprehension of market systems remains hazy," said J. Batsuur, minister of national development. What is

needed especially, he adds, is training and reorientation of Mongolia's civil servants working in public institutions. Mongolia also lacks lawyers, accountants, managers and marketing specialists to work in new private enterprises.

Helping people develop management skills, from ministry officials to small entrepreneurs, will be a particular focus of UNDP. Specifically, it will help design a large-scale programme to address this need, various parts of which will be funded by different donors. The programme will complement ongoing activities of the UN Development Fund for Women, which is helping to set up training for women entrepreneurs and a revolving loan facility.

Mr. Batsuur also says that Mongolia is seeking technical assistance from donor countries in "virtually every sector of the economy." In consultation with the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank, the government has decided to give priority to sectoral studies in the areas of energy, transport, mining, agriculture, education and health. "We need your assistance in identifying areas where the government should play a role, versus areas where the private sector should be left alone to operate," he told donors recently.

With careful planning, the nation's potential is enormous. In the words of Mr. Ganbold, Mongolia is a "poor rich country." It is studded with mineral deposits — including coal, tin, tungsten, uranium and gold — and is already the world's

Blueprint for Reform

The Mongolian government's programme of restructuring is concentrated in the following sectors:

Price and wage reform: At the start of 1991, the government liberalized, or freed from control, 60 per cent of state prices. Most other price controls will be lifted by next year.

The cost of energy, rent and telephone service will be set to reflect actual costs and adjusted frequently. Rents will remain under state control until the privatization of state-owned housing is completed.

Wage controls in the state sector will continue into 1993 until remaining state enterprises are privatized. There will be no wage controls in the private sector.

External trade and exchange rate reform: The government will encourage individuals and enterprises to import and export both goods and services. All import and export license requirements and foreign currency control regulations will be abolished in 1992 and 1993. There will be a uniform import tariff of 15 per cent.

Social safety nets: To soften the hardships imposed by the transition to a market economy, the government will provide cash supplements to those most in need. It will also monitor pension and social security benefits to ensure that people's basic needs are met. The government is considering instituting a food stamp programme. Food stamps would be used for the purchase of both food and clothing. The government also says that it will not evict any tenants from their homes during the first year of reforms.

The banking sector: The government has passed legislation that permits the creation of a two-tier banking system. Already, at least seven commercial banks

have been formed, and the central bank is being reorganized to reflect the structure and role of central banks in other market economies. As part of its banking reforms, the government aims to privatize every commercial bank before the end of 1992.

Privatization: The government has legalized private ownership of livestock herds and new businesses. In the first nine months of 1991, some 2,000 private enterprises opened, and many small shops were auctioned off to private owners. However, much of the economy still remains under state and cooperative management.

The government plans to transfer 100 per cent of its small assets, including shops and small agricultural enterprises, to the private sector as soon as possible. Large state enterprises will be converted to private companies and sold to the public by the end of the year. The Asian Development Bank is assisting a team of Mongolian officials in creating a Mongolian stock market.

In addition, the government is encouraging small business growth, particularly in the service sector. Red tape has been eliminated, allowing people to conduct business without permission from the government. A new centre has been created to provide credits to new businesses and temporary interest relief on loans.

A Foreign Investment Law has been passed that guarantees that investors will be able to take their profits out of the country and limits Mongolian taxes on those profits. The law also provides guarantees against seizure of foreign-owned property. — **H.O.H.**

largest producer of fluorspar. The former Soviet-managed copper mine at Erdenet, located in the north central part of the country, is the largest in Asia. And while only 10 per cent of Mongolia's land area has been surveyed, an American-based firm says its oil potential is good.

Then there is the physical beauty of the country itself, a richly varied land of mountains, plains, steppes and desert that has great potential for tourism. Mongolia's small population, the relatively late onset of industrialization, and its traditional Buddhist reverence for all forms of life has left the environment pristine and unexploited. From its pine-covered mountains in the north to the vast Gobi Desert in the south, Mongolia teems with wildlife. It is home to the lynx, ermine, brown bear and snow leopard, and has the world's largest herds of wild camels and donkeys. During autumn nights, under skies awash in stars, the bugling of elk and the mournful cries of wolves echo in the hills surrounding Ulaanbaatar.

One blemish on Mongolia's environment is the pollution that hovers over Ulaanbaatar, fed by coal fumes from smokestacks that create a brownish-green haze. But once outside the city limits, the skies remain cloudless and the air crystal clear.

Mongolia is known as the "place of winds." But because there are few trees on the plains and steppes, there is a primordial silence present throughout this landscape of great distances. Herds of sheep, camel or cattle guarded by traditional shepherds are a common sight. The plains are also dotted with white circular tents called *ghers*, the portable homes of nomadic herdsmen who are famous for their friendliness and hospitality.

In 1990, one-fifth of all visitors to Mongolia were tourists, yielding a profit for



The traditional portable tent of Mongolian herdsmen.

the state of \$7 million. But the supply of hotel rooms is limited and, for some, not up to international standards. Meanwhile, construction continues on the Genghis Khan, the country's first world-class hotel — an \$80 million high-rise to be run by the Holiday Inn Corporation. Getting to Mongolia is not easy either. There are still only three carriers that fly to Ulaanbaatar: Aeroflot, Air China and MIAT, the national airline, which currently has only one plane in service.

The development of transportation will be important to trade as well as to tourism. The country is roughly the size of Western Europe. But with only 1,300 kilometres of surfaced roads and 1,800

kilometres. Mongolia has recently negotiated an agreement with China for a rail link to the Chinese port of Tianjin.

To gain hard currency reserves, the new government is developing trade with other Asian and Western nations. The United States has recently granted Mongolia most-favoured nation trade status. In other moves, restrictions regulating

firms. While some fear that Mongolia is ripe for exploitation, government officials say that their culture and traditions will prevent that, and that new government institutions will protect the country's rich environment. And no one knows how Mongolians, fiercely proud of their history

and culture, would react to ownership by foreigners of the country's industries and livestock herds.

Despite the foreboding times, many government leaders are optimistic that the pain of the present will be rewarded by a bright future. "All our wealth is locked in a chest whose key we lost a long time ago," says Mr. Ganbold. "We are still looking for it. Our people, like those of

Then there is the physical beauty of the country itself, a richly varied land of mountains, plains, steppes and desert.

kilometres of railways, Mongolia lacks the infrastructure to get its mineral wealth out of the country and into world markets. Mongolian goods now bound for Japan must travel by railroad to the Soviet port of Nakhodka, a trip of some 1,500

business operations in Mongolia have been lifted in an attempt to woo international investors. Several Japanese and American companies have already established businesses, and Mongolians are actively courting other international

other nations, deserve a better life. Their present hardships will be compensated for in the future." ■

Hugh O'Haire is an information officer with the UN Population Fund.

Lamas return to the ancient Erdene Dzuu monastery, which re-opened in 1990.

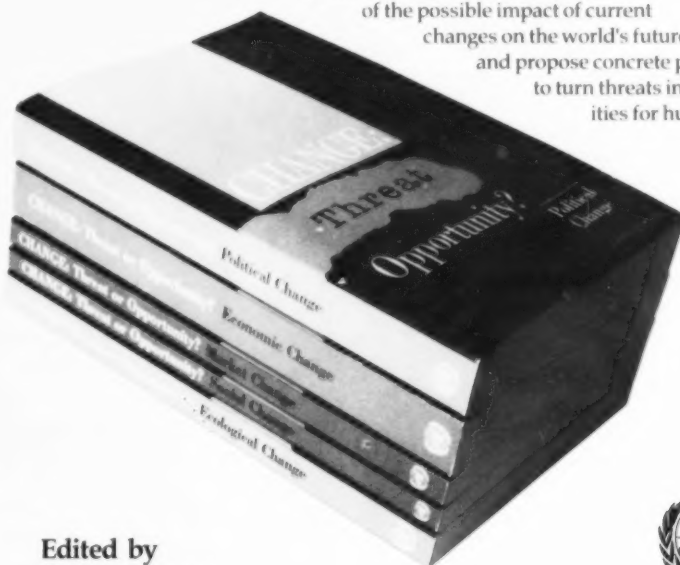


Now Available

CHANGE: THREAT OR OPPORTUNITY?

**Five thought-provoking volumes on global change:
Political ■ Economic ■ Market ■ Social ■ Ecological**

More than 80 renowned global citizens
present a comprehensive analysis
of the possible impact of current
changes on the world's future
and propose concrete plans
to turn threats into opportuni-
ties for human progress.



Edited by
Üner KIRDAR



undp

SET OF FIVE VOLUMES 25% DISCOUNT ■ E.91.III.B.10 ISBN: 92-1-126029-9 US\$75.00

Individual volumes may also be purchased separately.

SEND ORDERS TO: United Nations Publications, Sales Section

New York: Room DC2-0853

Dept. UDP, New York, NY 10017

Tel. (212) 963-8302 or toll free (800) 253-9646

Fax (212) 963-3489

Geneva: CH-1211

Geneva 10, Switzerland

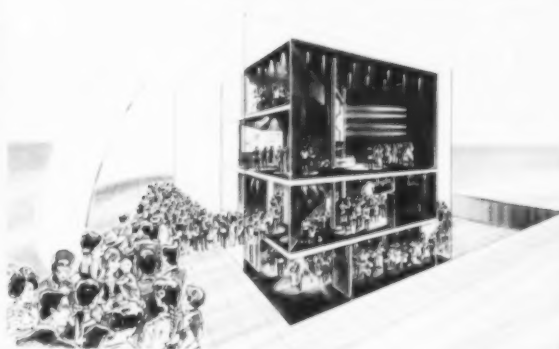
Tel. (41-22) 734-1473

Fax (41-22) 740-0931

Visa, MasterCard and American Express orders accepted. ■ Please add 5% (\$3.50 minimum) for shipping & handling.

*Democracy, freedom and ecology can be sustained
only through economic and human development.*

DISCOVER *the* SEVILLE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION



Commemorating 500 years since the voyage of Columbus and the meeting of two worlds, EXPO '92 honours five centuries of discovery.

Celebrate the human quest for knowledge.

20 APRIL to 12 OCTOBER 1992

Visit the United Nations Pavilion and a friendly creature from outer space. See people helping people: at work restoring peace, creating confidence, building a better world.



XP '92
SEVILLA

